ENGLAND & HER
SUBJECT-RACES

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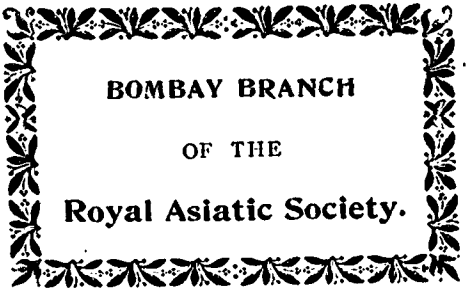

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ENGLAND

AND HER SUBJECT RACES

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO

JAMAICA

BY

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[THIS Essay, with some variations and additions, formed the subject of a paper which was read before the recent Social Science Congress at Manchester, and is now, by permission of the Council of the Association, published.

The subject proposed for consideration was :—

What is the duty of the Mother Country as regards the protection of Inferior Races in her Colonies and Dependencies?

In the course of the revision of the paper for publication, one or two paragraphs have been omitted, not from any change of opinion, but because they referred to passing events, not relevant to the objects with which the paper is now published.]

ENGLAND AND HER SUBJECT-RACES

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO

JAMAICA.

FOR the purposes of this paper the native races with which we have to do in our colonies and dependencies may conveniently be considered under four heads: namely, perishing races, such as the Aborigines of Australia, or the Indians of North America; stationary or slowly progressive races, such as the Hottentots, or

Negroes of the West Indies; progressive but uncivilized races, such as the Maoris and Kafirs; and lastly, the ancient but backward civilizations of China and Hindostan. With these last, however, it will be unnecessary to deal, partly because the principles, which ought to govern our relations with the less civilized communities, will be found to be applicable, in a higher development, to the case of the ancient civilizations of the East; but chiefly because India, China, and Japan, each raise special questions belonging rather to the sphere of international morality and imperial politics.

It is a dark page in history which records the contacts of Europeans with Aborigines. We call to mind the deeds of Cortes and Pizarro. We are told by the historian of the West Indies, that 'on a moderate computation, the conquest of the islands of the Spanish Main was effected by a slaughter, within a century, of ten millions of the species.' The aboriginal inhabitants of Australia can now be scarcely said to survive; the Maoris, who were estimated by Captain Cook, about a century ago, at about 100,000, do not now exceed 56,000; the Caribs of the British Antilles are now extinct, save in one island;* while the native races of Newfoundland and Tasmania have long ago wholly disappeared.

But then it is said that the history of colonization is

* Trinidad.

the history of the annihilation of the native races: that, in the order of Providence, savage man is destined to disappear before civilized man: that in the 'struggle for existence,' the inferior races must give way to the superior: that brown and red men have no right to obstruct their superiors in fulfilling the divine command to be 'fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it.'

This is a short and simple way of salving over our consciences. Perhaps, if it had been less simple, it would have less suggested the ugly misgiving that 'the wish was father to the thought.' What may be in the designs of Providence we know not. This at least we do know, that it is not for us to usurp the functions of Providence, and arrogate for our own rash assumptions the sanction of an inscrutable decree.

I pause to consider whether indeed the progress of the human race involves the extinction of its least favoured members, or whether another and a better solution of the problem can be suggested by the teaching of modern philosophy and religion.

Several practical considerations here present themselves. In the first place, we may look at home, at the presence amongst ourselves, in the heart of our great cities, of our own civilized savages, the pariahs of our own civilization.

In our own degraded and debased classes we may witness the converse process of de-civilization, the relapse

towards barbarism, with a coincident deterioration even of the physical type. 'For it cannot be denied that there is amongst us unmistakeable evidence of degradation of type, as the consequence of long-continued want, ignorance, squalor, and moral degradation. . . . An intelligent writer, in No. 48 of the "Dublin University Magazine," says, "There are certain districts in Leitrim, Sligo, and Mayo, chiefly inhabited by the descendants of the native Irish driven by the British from Armagh and the south of Down about two centuries ago. These people, whose ancestors were well-grown, able-bodied, and comely, are now reduced to an average stature of five feet two inches, are pot-bellied, bow-legged, and abortively featured; and they are especially remarkable for open projecting mouths, and prominent teeth and exposed gums, their advancing cheek-bones and depressed noses bearing barbarism in their very front. In other words, within so short a period, they seem to have acquired a prognathous type of skull, like the Australian savages."' Again, with respect to the nomadic vagabond tribes which infest our streets, there may be noticed a certain degree of regression towards the pyramidal type. 'By that acute observer, Mr. Henry Mayhew, in his "London Labour and London Poor," it has been well remarked, "that among them, according as they partake more or less of this pure vagabond nature, doing nothing whatever for their living, but moving from place to place, preying on the earnings

of the more industrious portions of the community, so will the attributes of the nomadic races be found more or less marked in them; and they are all more or less distinguished by their high cheek bones and protruding jaws; thus showing that kind of mixture of the pyramidal with the prognathous type which is to be seen among the most degraded of the Malayo-Polynesian races."'*

Then it should be remembered that (as has been well

* *Civilization and Cerebral Development.* By Robert Dunn, F.R.C.S. *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, 1866. New Series. Vol. 4, p. 31. In contrast with the retrogressive process above referred to, it is important to remark the gradual approximation which, as we are assured, is taking place in the physical configuration of the Negroes to the European model. 'According to the concurrent testimony of disinterested observers (says Dr. Carpenter), not only in the United States of America, but also in the West Indies, an approximation in the Negro physiognomy to the European model is progressively taking place in instances in which, although there has been no intermixture of European blood, the influence of a higher civilization has been powerfully exercised for a lengthened period of time. This is particularly the case with Negroes employed as domestic servants. . . . . This alteration, too, is not confined solely to the change in the form of the skull, or to a diminution in the projection of the jaws, striking as these changes are, but is also seen in the general figure, and in the form of the soft parts, as the lips and nose. . . . . Sir Charles Lyell, from personal observations, bears his testimony to the same conclusions.'—*Ibid.* p. 26. The Maroons who fell under my own observation in Jamaica exhibited a marked superiority in respect of comportment, mental capacity, and physical type—a superiority to be referred to the saving effects of long-enjoyed freedom. The Maroons are the descendants of runaway Spanish slaves, who at the time of the British Conquest established themselves in the mountain fastnesses.

observed)* extermination, in the interest of this doctrine of human progress, really rests on the same ground which barbarous tribes justify—as even some nations of classical antiquity justified—'the extinction of individual life, as in the case of female infants, children physically defective, and the aged'—a view which, it is needless to remark, the smallest advance in humanity and real civilization sufficed to reject as equally shallow and barbarous.

Then again, the vices incident to savage nature and society must be borne in mind, as well as the precise mode in which the destructive forces of European contact operate.

There is reason to believe 'that the decay of those races the numbers of which have, since their contact with Europeans, so uniformly diminished, was advancing even more rapidly under the influences of intestine wars, cannibalism, and the habits of savage life at earlier periods of their history.'† Nor are we left in the dark as to the particular mode in which these 'habits of savage life' have an injurious operation. A competent observer has attributed the rapid decay of the Maori race (already referred to) 'mainly to their deficiencies in three matters, themselves the material foundation of all domestic economy—food, clothing, and lodging.'‡

* *International Policy*, p. 542, note.
† *North British Review*, No. 88, p. 399.
‡ *International Policy*, p. 543.

All these are deficiencies or errors capable of remedy; on the other hand, the destructive effects of intercourse with Europeans can be referred to definite and equally removable causes. The first result of such intercourse is, almost invariably, the introduction of ardent spirits and fire-arms, and not unfrequently, the communication of diseases before unknown. Another and a deeper consequence is the shock given to native ideas and social systems, which, however rude, have at least maintained the elements of society.

Upon the whole, therefore, we may conclude that, however difficult the task, the problem of the preservation of inferior races is capable of practical solution; that the difficulties in the way are at once tangible and preventible; and that, after all, 'the problem presented by savage and semi-civilized communities is essentially the same as that which regards the lowest and most neglected classes of European society: namely, their gradual participation in the best results—physical, intellectual, and moral—of Western civilization.'*

How, then, shall we arrive at the solution we desire? Is not the first step the rejection of all *a priori* assumptions, and the patient investigation of facts, including the causes of our miscarriages in the past? Now, the principal cause of past miscarriage has been a failure to appre-

* *International Policy*, p. 544.

hend the fundamental distinctions between civilized and uncivilized modes of thought, habits of life, and states of society. This misapprehension, precluding a mutual understanding, has also precluded the natural influence of the superior over the inferior race. It has also, in many cases, nullified, or converted into positive evil, measures which were designed for good.

The first step, therefore, is the understanding of our past misunderstandings, with a view to a wiser policy in the future. And, in order to do this, we must have recourse to facts and experience.

The present age seems to be peculiarly fitted for the right solution of such a problem. As modern science is establishing itself upon a broader, more tentative, and sounder basis; so we may hope that modern statesmanship is becoming more philosophical, more experimental, more humane. The colonial minister has, moreover, for his guidance a multitude of facts, comparative as well as positive. Travellers, missionaries, and merchants are, day by day, opening up to us sources of information, which a quickened public intelligence and keener political tastes eagerly absorb. At the same time, we are arriving at a juster appreciation of our national responsibilities, and of the inherent difficulties in the way of their discharge. Under the influence of a wider philosophy, we even admit that there is a great, though unacknowledged, debt which civilized man owes to savage man; that in

the further progress of morality there may be lessons to be learned even from some of the despised races of the earth; while the application of the doctrine of continuity, as regards the history of the human species, leads us to the recognition of human affinities between the most refined and the most degraded specimens of the race.*

Acting upon this enlarged and more humane view of our relations towards uncivilized races, our first endeavour must be to estimate aright savage nature and savage manners. This done, we shall find that, in the process, many difficulties will have disappeared, and that such as really exist are capable of being overcome by means within our own control. In the words of Mr. Hutton, from whose essay on 'England and the Uncivilized Communities,' I have derived much assistance :—'The points of difference which separate savage from civilized existence lie much deeper, and concern fundamental aspects of the intellectual and moral nature and social institutions. This juster appreciation also brings into clearer view the attributes of our common humanity. The

* 'This unity (of mankind), I believe with Professor Agassiz, to be a bond which every man feels more and more, the further he advances in moral and intellectual culture, and which in this development is continually placed upon higher and higher grounds; so much so, that the physical relation arising from a common descent is finally entirely lost sight of in the consciousness of the higher moral obligations, which are paramount and universal.'—*Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, 1866, p. 15.

exaggerated importance often assigned to the question of races is thus reduced to its just proportions, and subordinated to conceptions at once more general, and affecting matters which fall to a far greater extent within the modifying power of a thoughtful and wisely-directed human intervention; as, for example, the conditions of domestic well-being, laws affecting property, industry, and the administration of justice, with popular education. The deeper points of contrast, when impartially investigated, are seen to be due, not chiefly to physical conformation, but to social influences, slowly accumulating, and transmitted from generation to generation. They connect themselves, for good or for evil, with a long train of antecedents, and constitute stages in the general growth of society.' *

'The real interest of this country (says Lord Grey) is gradually to train the inhabitants of this part (the west coast) of Africa in the arts of civilization and government, until they shall grow into a nation capable of protecting themselves and of managing their own affairs, so that the interference and assistance of the British authorities may, by degrees, be less and less required.' †

Now, in order to do this, our first care must be to apprehend the distinctive and characteristic features of

* *International Policy*, p. 520.

† *The Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell's Administration*, vol. ii. p. 287.

savage life; to bear in mind their divergence from the European model; and to make it our business gradually to transmute them in the crucible of a higher civilization, by the force of example, and by the cautious and patient introduction of European institutions.

In this process, we shall be careful to respect whatever rudiments of social organization we may find already existing, not heedlessly breaking down even tyrannical or superstitious customs (unless indeed we see our way to establishing something better in their place); but rather seizing hold of whatever good points may underlie the native institutions—family ties, local attachments, the habit of obedience to chiefs—it will be our wisdom to cherish these as points in common between us and them, as rudiments and germs, elementary and imperfect it may be, but still capable of being built upon, and of being ultimately made to support the superstructure of civilization.

The first foundations of a new social system will have been laid when provision has been made for establishing some security for life and property. The great instrument for effecting this first object, and indeed the most potent solvent of barbarous customs, is the strong and impartial administration of justice. Under the shelter of law, and of a system of police, habits of settled industry will begin to grow up, and with these Nomadism will tend to disappear. Then, when these foundations of material order and industry have been laid, the ground will have been

prepared for the action of moral agencies, and the barbarous people will have become amenable to the most potent and only efficacious instruments of civilization, namely, education and the influences of Christianity.

If it be objected that this is paying too great respect to barbarous customs, that the process of building up a new civilization on the basis of a gradual transformation of barbarous habits and manners is necessarily tedious, and unworthy of engaging the energies of a highly civilized imperial government, it must be answered that, at any rate, more ambitious and compendious schemes have hitherto failed; that, after all, races, like individuals, can only be elevated by self-effort, by effort moreover exerted in the development of their own peculiar gifts; and that, though the first beginning may be difficult, yet that, when once the beginning has been made, subsequent progress will proceed in an accelerated ratio.

Before I leave the subject of our relations towards barbarous peoples, I will state a particular case, as an example of the practical working of the above principles, and with a view to show the practical difficulties with which the first steps towards the civilization of barbarous tribes are attended.

The case which I cite is the more instructive in that the civilizing influence is exercised over tribes independent of the British Crown, and by the mere force of contact with, and deference to, a superior civilization.

Lord Grey describes as follows* the position of the British on the Gold Coast of Africa:—'The position which is there occupied by this country is very singular and anomalous. The British territory, properly so called, is confined to the forts, and the distance of a cannon-shot around them. Beyond this circle no dominion is claimed on behalf of the Crown; but British influence and authority extend over an area of not less than 8,000 square miles, constituting the territories of various native chiefs, and inhabited by a population estimated at 400,000 souls at least.' He goes on to say that 'Justice is administered to this large population, by their own consent, by British magistrates. The principal of these magistrates is an officer who bears the somewhat strange title of the judicial assessor, who sits principally at Cape Coast Castle, and exercises a superintendence over the proceedings of the magistrates who sit at the other forts. The population of the country under British influence and protection, bring their various disputes for decision before these magistrates, on whom the singular duty is imposed of enforcing the rude laws and customs of so uncivilized a people, qualified only by those plain and universal principles of justice, which even the most ignorant races understand when explained to them.'

It is of course a consequence of this system, 'that the

* *Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell's Administration*, vol. ii. p. 270, &c.

British authorities must tolerate much of which they do not approve. For instance, the custom of domestic slavery is too firmly established to be suddenly altered.' It has been necessary to recognise it within certain limits. So again, to take a cognate example from another part of Africa, polygamy is a deeply-rooted institution. 'It is one which time only can abrogate, because men and women would equally oppose any violent attempt to destroy it, and morality would suffer more from the effects of such violence, than leaving it to the gradual extirpation, which natural causes, and judicious but indirect measures, will most probably soon bring about.'* The important question which has been raised by the Bishop of Natal with respect to polygamy, as regards converts to Christianity, will doubtless be readily recalled.

Lord Grey goes on to state, that 'the public administration of justice by the British magistrates, whose practice it is to explain the grounds of their decisions, has been a powerful instrument of improvement, by preventing the infliction of the barbarous punishments formerly in use, and by gradually diffusing more correct notions as to right and wrong, and as to what actions constitute offences which ought to be punished.' It is thus that an inroad has been made upon the barbarous and superstitious customs connected with witchcraft and

* Parliamentary paper quoted in *International Policy*, p. 523.

fetishism. The general results, moreover, of this indirect and suasive influence, exercised by our officers by the force of mere moral ascendancy, have been the cessation of intestine wars between the chiefs, and 'a slow but constant mitigation of the oppression to which the bulk of the population of Africa is subject from their rulers.' And thus we see how, by the institution of a judicial authority, working in consonance with the feelings of the people, wisely restraining itself within limits adapted to a low stage of civilization, and yet enlarging itself with the gradual enlargement of the native moral sense, 'the laws and customs which the natives recognise are gradually and silently brought more into harmony with justice, and with the feelings and opinions of Christian nations.'

I ought properly to consider this subject, also, in its relation to the higher races represented by the Kafirs and Maoris; but having regard to time, I will confine myself, in what remains, to the consideration of the duty of this country towards that peculiar people, the subject of one of the vastest and most momentous experiments of modern times, a people associated in the public mind with recent painful memories—I mean the emancipated negroes of the British West Indies.

Before I proceed with that part of my subject, I propose to touch upon a point deeply affecting the general relations between this country and all the inferior races

over whom she exercises control, and brought into fresh prominence by recent events in Jamaica.

Much as has been written and said on that deplorable subject, I question whether the public attention has sufficiently riveted itself on that which I take to be at the bottom of all we deplore, the military spirit which was engendered by the Indian mutiny, and the first-fruits of which we have lately witnessed in the red anarchy of Jamaica martial law.

The spirit of which I speak, rooted in an utter absence of reverence for inferiors, is not, however, peculiar to a particular profession; it exists, in even a more intense form, in the dominant class of every community in which there are sharply-defined contrasts of race. It will suffice to allude to two well-known letters, relative to martial law, produced before the Commissioners in Jamaica, which embody sentiments not, it is to be feared, confined to the respective writers.*

I am well aware that certain allowances must be made, and, in particular, for absence from home, and the consequent relaxation of the restraints which English society and the influence of English opinion impose. The position, too, of an officer or colonist, placed among a subject race, is not favourable to the development of

* See *Report of Jamaica Royal Commission*, 1866, pp. 399 and 755.

the finer or kindlier feelings of our nature. Yet, after all allowances, the broad fact remains, that (with the exception of the higher officials) English society in India, and in the colonies in which a native race exists, is to a great extent animated with a spirit of contemptuous and almost brutal disregard for the feelings (may I not almost add the lives?) of the inferior race. The existence of such a spirit is so shocking to our humanity that it deserves a moment's consideration. Its origin must, I think, be sought in two kindred motives, pride of race and pride of birth. The former regards the native as an inferior creature; the latter breeds insolence. The two together induce a sort of caste-like spirit, manifesting itself (the military element being predominant in India and the colonies) in the habits of every-day life. It even frames for itself a conventional phraseology, which at length becomes a second nature, and builds up a hard, impassable barrier against the better and more generous feelings of human nature. To such an extent does this second nature warp the judgment, and harden the heart, that in times of action the conventional becomes the actual standard of conduct. Hence, in emergencies such as the Indian mutiny, or the late disturbances in Jamaica (where the insurrection of the negro was resented as a kind of personal insult), the feeling which, in ordinary times, is fatal to all kindly intercourse,

amounts to a negation of the commonest instincts of the commonest humanity.

The remedy for such a national scandal can only be found in a changed habit of mind; and this can only be brought about by an improvement in the general tone of society. For, after all, English officers are English gentlemen; and society at large is responsible for the tone of its individual members. Perhaps, if theologians could consent for a season to substitute for barren controversy the guidance of the nation in the weightier matters of this law, public morality might not suffer.

The problem presented by the negro in the British West Indies is altogether peculiar. Our West India Islands are neither colonies nor dependencies. The creole negro of Jamaica or Barbadoes raises no questions of political supremacy. We have not to deal with Maori-king movements or Kafir irruptions. Our rule extends over a docile race, speaking the same language as ourselves, leavened to a great extent by European intercourse, alien to the West Indian soil, regarding England as its adopted 'home,' and venerating the Queen with an almost more than English reverence. The problem before us is, moreover, one of the vastest in which a great civilized nation can engage. It is no other than that which is occupying also the anxious attention of the governments of Russia and the United States, namely, the reorganization of society, after a

system of serfdom or slavery, upon the basis of free labour. The problem, as it regards ourselves, involves the consideration of some general questions. Has emancipation failed? Has it failed at least in Jamaica, the noblest and most favoured of our West Indian possessions? Or, can we perceive the regular operation of cause and effect, and trace in the disregard of ordinary economical laws, the grounds of failure in the past, and therefore of hope for the future?

I will briefly touch upon a question which lies at the threshold of this inquiry—the capacity of the negro for civilization. The answer to this question must needs affect, at every step, the solution of the general problem. The case against the negro, put in its extreme form, is embodied in the dictum that 'any attempt to improve his condition is warring against an immutable law of nature.' There are, again, authorities, such as Mr. Matthew Foster, who has stated that, after a long life of hope for the amelioration of the negro, he had given it up in despair; or distinguished travellers, such as Captain Burton and Sir Samuel Baker, the latter of whom has recently asserted that the negro 'has little in common with the white man beyond the simple instincts of human nature.' On the other hand, however, there are authorities at least equally weighty. Dr. Livingstone (who, by the way, speaks to the superiority of the negro in the interior of Africa over the inhabitants of the West Coast—a superiority which he

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unhesitatingly ascribes to immunity from the curse of slavery), on being asked, by a late Committee of the House of Commons, whether he shared in the opinion recently expressed with regard to the impossibility of elevating the African, answers, 'Not in the smallest degree; they are in a state of degradation, and some time will be necessary for their elevation, but with regard to their capabilities I have no doubt whatever.'* Again, Sir Benjamin Pine, who has held official positions in various parts of Africa for nearly a quarter of a century, was interrogated by the same Committee as to his impression of the capability of the negro for managing his own affairs. He answers, 'Certainly. Perhaps the great mass of them at present may not be capable of managing their own affairs; but they may be as the nation becomes educated. I do not see why they have not the same natural capabilities as we have.' He is then asked as to the degree of civilization to which negro settlements may attain; whether they will become as civilized as any European settlement. He answers, 'Not as civilized as any European settlement; but I think that they will be sufficiently civilized to conduct a decent government.' In answer to the question whether he considered the pure negro, without admixture of any

* *Report of Select Committee of House of Commons on Africa (Western Coast)*, June 26th, 1865, p. 232.

other blood, capable of arriving at a high degree of civilization, he replies: 'I see no reason to doubt it.' Q. 'Have we any example of a pure negro kingdom arriving at a high degree of civilization?' A. 'They have never been in circumstances to do it.'*

Or again, if we turn to the testimony of men of science, 'however much our boasted intellectual superiority, on the one hand, and the physical and mental inferiority of the negro, on the other, may be dwelt upon by some, there are others who share in the nobler aspirations of Dr. Channing for the future of the race; and not a few who believe, as Dr. Carpenter has remarked, that there are elements in the negro character which have been deemed capable of working a considerable improvement on even Anglo-Saxon civilization; nay, that many intelligent thinkers have come to the conclusion that the boasted superiority of the latter is, after all, more *intellectual* than *moral*, and that in purity and disinterestedness of the affections, and child-like simplicity and gentleness of demeanour, we have much to learn from the despised negroes. I, for one (says Mr. Dunn), have faith in their social and moral endowments, and look forward hopefully to the future of the race, when emancipated from the fetters of slavery, and brought under the ameliorating and benign influence of a higher civilization,

* Same *Report*, pp. 132, 133.

more favourable to the development of their intellectual nature. . . . Hitherto, among the civilized nations of the world, what chance have they had? Despised as a race in the Northern, and degraded and subjugated into slavery in the Southern States of America, how abject has been, and, at this very time, how deplorable and wretched is their social position.'*

On the other hand, the conclusion at which Mr. Crawfurd arrives, after a review of the 'Characteristics of the Negro' in the East and in the West, is as follows:—'From the facts stated in this and the previous paper on the Occidental negro, the conclusion seems to me inevitable that the negro races, of whatever kind and wherever found, are inferior to all the other races of man in juxtaposition to them. In Africa they are inferior to the Mauritanian, the Egyptian, the Nubian, the Arab, and the Hindu settler; in the Malay peninsula, in the Philippines, and in New Guinea, they are far below the Malay; and in the isles of the Pacific invariably below the brown straight-haired Polynesians. It is his mental inferiority that makes the negro everywhere liable to be domineered over or enslaved. On this account the Papuan is enslaved by the Malay, as the African negro is by the Arab or the European.'†

* *Civilization and Cerebral Development. Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, 1866, p. 16.

† *Ibid.* p. 239.

But enough has been said on this point. Where eminent authorities thus differ, it may perhaps be permitted, in the absence of ethnological conclusions to the contrary, to hold by that more hopeful view, which science does not contradict, which the charities of history favour, and which is in harmony with the known antecedents of our human nature.

Assuming, then, that the problem of our relations with, and duty towards, the negroes in the West Indies, is not embarrassed by despair of the future elevation of the race, we must inquire into the causes of the failure, in great part, of our work of emancipation. Taking Jamaica as a crucial instance, to what are we to attribute its present conspicuous state of decay? Is it the result of emancipation, of the abolition of the system of forced labour? Or, again, is it the result of recent legislation as regards its great staple—of the abolition of the protective duties on sugar? Or shall we traverse the planters' pleas, and affirm that the measures for securing personal freedom and freedom of trade have had nothing to do with the vital conditions of the problem? Shall we maintain that it is not a question of race, nor of slavery, nor yet of free-trade; but that, in all its essential features, it is the same problem which presents itself in all sparsely populated new countries—an economical question of capital and labour, supply and demand, which, like all economical questions, is capable of being grappled with, of

being understood, and successfully surmounted? I think that the best authorities are unanimous in this latter view. It can be shown, historically and statistically, that the decay of Jamaica had set in long before the abolition of slavery; that under emancipation our other sugar colonies have, by a wise adaptation of themselves to their altered circumstances, not only surmounted the difficulties incident to so great a change, but have (in several instances at least—such as Trinidad, British Guiana, and the Mauritius) actually attained to a higher, and still advancing, state of prosperity; while statesmen, like Lord Grey, attribute the exceptional state of Jamaica to the exceptional infatuation with which her planters, as a body, have persistently ignored the logic of facts, and continued to hanker after a pestilent and irrecoverable monopoly.

The following graphic account by a contemporary resident in Jamaica, of the measures pursued by the planters in the first days of emancipation, will at once illustrate their infatuated policy, and throw light on the vexed question of 'continuous labour:'—'At the commencement of freedom, the attorneys and overseers rather resembled madmen than reasonable beings. Deprived of the unrequited labours of the slaves, their great object seemed to be to assimilate their freedom as nearly as possible to slavery. Meetings of planters were held, in which they agreed to unite in fixing the wages of the

labourers at the lowest possible amount,* whilst enormous rents were demanded for the labourers' cottages and provision-grounds; indeed, in many cases, a *per capita* rental, so great as to absorb the entire wages of the labourers, was imposed and enforced. Such a state of things could not long continue. The negroes became impatient of such impositions, and refused to submit to them, which, as the rents were deducted from the wages, led to their refusing to work. The managers next resorted to forcible ejectment: they unroofed their dwellings, cut down their bread-fruit and other trees, tore up their provisions from the ground, and drove the people, with their families, into the open roads. It was this impolitic, as well as oppressive conduct, that gave the finishing stroke to the alienation of the labourers from the estates. The strong local attachments of the negroes were well known in the island, and had they been wisely taken advantage of, might have been the salvation of the estates; but they were made use of only to coerce and punish, and thus was severed the only tie which held them to their old homes, and led them to obtain land of their own, which would be exempt from unjust extortion, and safe from the rude hand of violence. But this removal from the estates,

* The writer states that he was present at Montego Bay when such a resolution was adopted, fixing the wages of an able-bodied field-labourer at 7½*d.* sterling, although they had before sworn their value to be four bits, or 1*s.* 6*d.* sterling.

which first arose from necessity, soon grew to be an all-absorbing passion; multitudes speedily followed the examples that had been set them, and abandoned the properties on which they had been born, to become possessors of their own lands, until many estates became altogether abandoned, and on nearly all the numbers of labourers became greatly reduced, the people preferring the independence and security of their own homesteads to the expensive and uncertain tenure of the dwellings on their masters' properties.'*

The length of this paper forbids my doing more than briefly indicate some of the chief elements upon which a right estimate of our own responsibilities towards our negro fellow-subjects seems to depend. The nature of the problem is well stated by one of our most successful West Indian governors. Lord Harris, in a despatch written in the year 1848, says that 'one of the many errors which have been committed since the granting of emancipation is the little attention paid to any legislation having for its end the formation of a society on true, sound, and lasting principles. That such an object could be obtained at once, was and is not to be expected; but undoubtedly, had proper measures been adopted, much greater progress might have been made. As the question

* *Jamaica: Who is to Blame?* p. 24. London: Effingham Wilson.

at present stands, a race has been freed, but a society has not been formed. Liberty has been given to a heterogeneous mass of individuals who can only comprehend license. A participation in the rights and privileges and duties of civilized society has been granted to them; they are only capable of enjoying its vices. To alter such a state of things vigorous and prompt measures are required, in order that the authority of the law should be felt; greater weight must be given to the executive; to humanize the people, a general and extensive system of education must be adopted; to assist in civilization, every encouragement should be given to the establishment and to the easy circumstances of a superior class, especially of Europeans, amongst the population.'*

It must be confessed that emancipation, in all but its object, was a sorry piece of legislation. It was possible, indeed, by act of parliament, to confer freedom upon 800,000 slaves, but it was not possible, even by act of parliament, summarily to remove the inveterate curse which slavery had engendered. There is that in the infamous and accursed system of slavery which even the sovereign power of freedom can only gradually, slowly, and painfully extirpate. The problem of emancipation may be briefly stated thus:—How, in a tropical country,

* *The Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell's Administration*, vol. i. p. 86.

where the means of subsistence are easy, where wants are few, and nature is lavish in her gifts, with a population thin in proportion to the extent of rich territory;—how, in such circumstances, the transition may be made from a system of forced to free labour, and natural incentives to industrious exertion be substituted for the coercion of the whip. It is worthy of observation that the government of 1833 had proposed a plan to satisfy the conditions of this problem, which was, however, subsequently dropped. The characteristic of the rejected plan was 'to stimulate the negroes to industry by the imposition of a tax on their provision-grounds, while very stringent regulations for enforcing the payment of the tax, and for the prevention of vagrancy, were to have been established. The design of these proposals was to substitute, for the direct coercion of the whip, the indirect constraint by which the working classes in other countries are driven to exertion—namely, the impossibility of otherwise obtaining such a maintenance as their habits render necessary to them.'*

It should also be remembered that other nations have profited by our mistakes, and that in the Dutch, Danish, and French sugar colonies emancipation has been treated as a gradual process.

* *The Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell's Administration*, vol. i. p. 76.

The future of our West India colonies must depend largely upon their government. The experience of Jamaica has shown the unsuitableness in such a community of representative institutions. An elective representative assembly is, in fact, in the conflict of the white and coloured races,* an oligarchic tyranny veiled in a popular dress. What is wanted is a government which will devote itself impartially to the interests of both races, and which, in the interest of the negro, shall charge itself with the triple functions of protection, guidance, and control. Such a government is to be sought, for a time at least, in a paternal depotism.†

The first step towards reclaiming the negro to habits of order and settled industry must be an impartial and trusted administration of justice. If any defect was conclusively established by the late inquiry in Jamaica, it was the need of a stipendiary magistracy. There is an

* The recent action of the grand jury (composed mainly of Magistrates, Planters, and Book-keepers) of the Circuit Court of St. Thomas-in-the-East, in the face of an almost mandatory charge from the presiding Judge, in the case of the late Provost-Marshal, Mr. Ramsay, is a notable instance of a profound depravation of public morality.

† 'Liberty,' says Mr. J. S. Mill, 'as a principle, has no application to any state of things anterior to the time when mankind have become capable of being improved by free and equal discussion. Until then, there is nothing for them but implicit obedience to an Akbar or a Charlemagne, if they are so fortunate as to find one.'—*On Liberty*, 2nd edition, p. 28.

elaborate return appended to the report of the Commissioners, bearing upon the administration of justice in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East, which is worthy of attentive study.*

Again, the state not only of Jamaica, but of the other West India Islands, points to the necessity of measures for preventing vagrancy, for regulating native settlements, for encouraging settled industry, and for enforcing the observance of the elementary conditions of morality and health.

The principal agents for effecting these primary requirements will be an efficient police, the enactment of a bastardy law,† a systematic registration of births and deaths, the establishment of hospitals, and a well-organized system of medical supervision,‡ the construction of roads, the instruction of the people in improved methods

* *Report of the Jamaica Royal Commission*, p. 1,082.

† The proportion of married persons to the entire population in Jamaica was, in 1861, 21·77 per cent.

‡ 'It appears from the latest return of the Registrar that during 1858 thirty-two per cent. of the persons who died (in Antigua) were children under the age of one year—a mortality that can only be explained by the want of proper medical care.'—*The Ordeal of Free Labour in the British West Indies*, p. 154.

Mr. Crawfurd states that the numbers of the emancipated negroes in our colonies are 'understood to be kept down, not from want of the means of subsistence, but by a promiscuous intercourse of the sexes, by infanticide, with corresponding vices, and the neglect of children.'—*Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, 1866, p. 218.

of agriculture, and, above all, a system of industrial,* compulsory,† unsectarian‡ education.§

* 'What is wanted is an education that would make intelligent labourers and useful citizens, and no system seems so likely to accomplish this object as industrial schools, where learning and labour should be taught together. Such a system of education would not only have the advantage of economy of expense, by contributing considerably towards its own support, but it would tend to remove the idea of disgrace which, in Jamaica, is attached to field labour, and make it respectable in the eyes of the people. It would also accustom them to the use of better implements of agriculture, as well as improved and more scientific methods of cultivation, which could not but exert a beneficial influence on the prosperity of the island. There is at present one institution of this description, established in the parish of Metcalfe by the Agent of the American Missionary Society, in which not only agriculture is carried on to a considerable extent, but other useful trades, as tanning, smiths' and carpenters' work, and a saw-mill moved by water-power, and a fair crop of sugar is also cultivated and manufactured. This valuable institution . . . is, to a considerable extent, self-supporting; . . . . its influences are seen for miles round, in the superior intelligence of the people, their improved methods of cultivation, and general good conduct.'—*Jamaica: Who is to Blame?* p. 80.

† 'The great difficulty which lies in the way of accomplishing such an object' (the establishment of schools such as that in the parish of Metcalfe) 'arises from the indifference of the parents, who have little or no appreciation of the value of knowledge, and are generally unwilling to incur the least expense for the education of their children, or even to forego any little services they may be able to render them in their work or at their ground. The consequence has been that the schools have been but very poorly attended, and that attendance very fitful and irregular. Under such circumstances, it becomes a question whether compulsory education ought not to be adopted.'—*Ibid.* p. 81.

‡ See Appendix.

§ In Jamaica there appear to be but few Friendly Societies, no Provident Societies (except Savings' Banks, of which there are seven in the twenty-

For these purposes the government must be furnished with means; and, next to a sound administration of justice, a wisely-adjusted system of fiscal economy will be found a potent agent of governmental civilizing influence. In nothing so much as in the principles of taxation is the difference between civilized and uncivilized communities made manifest. The reasons which induce the governments of Europe to lighten the burden of taxation on the working classes, with whom subsistence is difficult, and the motive to exertion urgent, fail of application in the case of the semi-civilized people of a tropical country, whose standard of physical comfort is low and easily satisfied. In a word, in such a community direct taxation, which presses upon the means of subsistence, is proved to be at once the most productive source of revenue, and incidentally an instrument of high value in the work of civilization. An example of a mischievous system of taxation is to be found in the recent history of Jamaica. There, under the auspices of the planters, an *ad valorem* duty of 12½ per cent. is imposed upon the import of articles ordinarily in use by the negro peasantry. There is also a tax charged upon horses and carts. The obvious effect of these taxes is to obstruct the advancement of the people in ways of industry, in material comfort, and in the habits of civilized life. It should, moreover, be

two parishes, with 2,306 depositors, and deposits amounting in the aggregate to 49,460*l.* 13*s.* 5*d.*), and no Dispensaries, except one in Kingston.

an object of the government to secure, if possible, the intelligent co-operation of the negroes, by publication of the official accounts, and by the specific appropriation of local taxes to local objects, such as education and public roads.

It is impossible, however, to touch upon the question of imports without expressing simple astonishment at the apathy which, regardless of the prodigal wealth of Nature, allows commodities to be introduced from abroad which could be supplied, to the common advantage of estate-proprietor and peasant, by the rich soil and varied climate of Jamaica itself. 'I have no patience' (exclaims Mr. Sewell*) 'to listen to their complaints, when I look at the unbounded wealth and wonderful resources of the country. They cry out at the high price of labour, and pretend they cannot grow corn, when corn is grown at five times the cost in the United States, and exported to Jamaica at a handsome profit. They import beef, and tongues, and butter, though this very parish of Manchester offers advantages for raising stock that no part of America possesses. They import mackerel, and salmon, and herrings, and codfish, though Jamaica waters abound in the most splendid kind of fish. They import woods, though Jamaica forests are unrivalled for the variety and beauty and usefulness of their timber. They import

* *The Ordeal of Free Labour in the British West Indies*, p. 223.

tobacco, though their soil in many districts is most excellent for its growth. The negroes, *who have never been taught these things*, are learning them slowly by experience, and a gradual decline in certain articles of import demonstrates that they now raise on their own properties a very large proportion of their own provisions.'

It remains only to glance at the questions which relate to the tenure of land. The fact is, that in Jamaica, as in the other islands, the negro, like the Irishman, has an instinctive hankering after the ownership of land. Hence the propensity, since emancipation, to abandon the estates for small holdings of their own, either in the mountains, or on the unoccupied wastes which abound in all the islands except Barbadoes. These plots of land (which are cultivated as provision-grounds, or for the production of sugar and coffee, or arrowroot, ginger, and spices) are either purchased as freeholds, or irregularly squatted upon. The bearing upon the labour question of this propensity for the acquisition of land is obvious. In Jamaica alone, it has been calculated that, out of a population of upwards of 350,000 blacks, some 60,000 are freeholders, while only 30,000 are employed as labourers upon the sugar estates. The bearing, also, of this land question upon the late disturbances in that island will not be forgotten. It is, in my opinion, upon a right solution of the many important questions which turn upon the tenure of land that the future prosperity of Jamaica will largely depend.

For instance, accepting facts, cannot this negro propensity for land be turned to account? Is there any necessary conflict of interest between the large proprietors and the small freeholders? Are we to be compelled to believe that, along with slavery, the day of large estates is bygone, and that freedom can best be worked out by a population of peasant proprietors? If I may refer to the result of inquiries which I myself made whilst in Jamaica, I may state it as the almost unanimous opinion of those with whom I conversed that there is no ground for anticipating the gradual abandonment of the large estates for a system of *petite culture*. And, indeed, such a revolution is to be deprecated in the interest of the negroes themselves, inasmuch as the cultivation of sugar, which requires capital, constitutes the chief source of wealth; and still more, because, with the withdrawal of the staple cultivation, the Europeans also would withdraw, and thus a fatal check would be given to the civilization of the negroes.

There is, moreover, reason to believe that it is not so much a dearth of labour as a dearth of capital under which Jamaica suffers; at any rate, that the question of capital is at least as material as that of labour; and that, where capital is at hand, and wages are regularly paid, a fair supply of continuous labour may be reckoned upon.

Mr. Wemyss Anderson, a Solicitor and Clerk of the Peace for the parish of Portland, mentions (1866) the fol-

lowing facts:—'I mention a sugar estate of which I know the history. Since the death of the proprietor ten years ago, the crops have been consigned to a merchant who had engaged to furnish the disbursement for the cultivation. His rates of charge for commission and interest amounted to nearly 20 per cent., rendering profit impossible, and ruin certain. Nevertheless, the arrangement appeared to promise to third parties on the spot (who were supposed to be judges), immediate profit and employment for a short series of years, and the concern was therefore carried on, and resulted at the end of seven years in a loss at the rate of 1,000*l.* a-year, and consequently, in the extinction of the proprietor's interest. For a lease of the same estate, an offer of 500*l.* a-year has been made by a resident planter, which does not surprise me, when I learn that, to a resident with capital, the yearly profit would considerably exceed 2,000*l.*; and that that would be no exceptional case, for there are now in the island several well-known resident planters, working with their own capital, who are realising annually incomes from sugar as high as 30 per cent. on the value of their investments. There is in truth no agriculture capable of yielding such liberal returns, if conducted under fair conditions—that is to say, such as are indispensable to success in England and America, namely, *personal presence and capital.* . . . To conduct agricultural operations and all collateral business, by *agents* instead of *principals*,

has never been the course in any countries but those of the West Indies. The prices of their products under favour of the monopoly of the English market, which they enjoyed so long, used to be double or treble what can now be had, and thus the burden and loss incidental to agency, and high rates of interest and other charges, were borne; but that time having irrevocably passed away, so must its peculiar economy. Let the case be considered candidly. The *resident* owner or lessee with *capital* is *now* making large profits; the dependent *absentee* is making losses.'

The labour, however, of the negroes must be supplemented by imported labour.* Such extraneous supply, in all the islands, probably, except Barbadoes, is a necessary safeguard against the uncertainty of the native supply. Trinidad is a capital instance of the benefits to be derived from a well-organized system of immigration. It is only necessary to add that there is no conflict of interest between coolies and creoles.

Beyond this, the planters, loyally accepting emancipation and free trade, must look to improved methods of cultivation

* I find that in 1864 not a single immigrant was introduced into Jamaica, and that the total expenditure in the Island for immigration purposes during that year, including salaries and all charges in or out of the Island, was 12,892*l.* 3*s.* 5*d.* The total number of immigrants in the Island in 1864 was 5,279, of whom 3,802 were coolies, and the remaining 1,577 were captured Africans.—See Immigration Returns in *Jamaica Blue Book*, 1864.

and manufacture, and, above all, to the inspiring new relations of confidence and goodwill between themselves and the freed peasantry. A chief step in this direction will be a fair adjustment, by law, of the relations between employer and employed, such as is embodied in the Master and Servants' Act of Barbadoes.

It is also a serious question whether the government ought not to enforce strictly, with peremptory provisions for forfeiture and resumption, the laws imposing quit-rents, or land tax, upon ruinate or abandoned estates. The Crown might, in such cases, lay out village settlements, and allot lands to negro cultivators, at a fixed rent, and on a certain tenure, with provisions for the ultimate vesting in the tenant of the ownership in fee simple.*

The possessory law of Jamaica, which confers a title only after an occupation of twenty years, operates harshly against squatters, and to the undue advantage of the legal owner. It would appear to be well worthy of consideration, whether in a country in which more than

* Salutary measures of this nature were introduced in Trinidad by Lord Harris. It is stated that in the parish of Clarendon, a highland parish situated among the mountains, well suited, in respect of climate and mode of agriculture, to a resident European population, 14,800 acres of land have been forfeited to the Crown under 21 Vic. cap. 34, which might be granted out to European settlers in parcels of from 50 to 150 acres, on such terms as are suggested by Lord Grey.—See *Colonial Policy of the Administration of Lord John Russell*, vol. ii. p. 147.

two-thirds of the land is unoccupied, and in a community composed of a dominant proprietary class on the one hand, and an ignorant and semi-civilized peasantry on the other, it consists with public policy that the law should be strained in favour of absentees, to the detriment of the public interest, to the perversion of real justice, and to the direct encouragement of disorder and chronic discontent.

I cannot close this paper without referring to the verdict of public opinion upon recent events in Jamaica. In what I have written, I have advocated the supreme exercise, at all times, and towards all—even the most lowly—races subject to our dominion, of a moral and humane national influence. But if indeed, as is alleged, there is one law for the European and another for the African; if indeed public opinion reverses the rule of Christian morality, and acts towards the humble negro, not as it would act, or be acted by, in the case of a civilized equal—then all that I have written has been written in vain.

APPENDIX.

I.

IN the year 1864, the total sum expended out of the Island Treasury,

	£	s.	d.
in grants for Educational* purposes, was	2,173	15	2
in grants for Ecclesiastical† purposes, was	28,840	12	8
The total expenditure ‡ for the year from the Island Treasury § being	388,139	9	8

* Taking the number of children capable of attending school at 63,000, this gives an expenditure by the Government for purposes of education of rather more than 8*d.* per child.

† *i.e.* the Church of England. It is the stated opinion of a gentleman resident in the Island, a member of the Established Church, that 'whatever instincts the peasantry have of civilized life have been fostered by the much-maligned Dissenting ministers, and a *very few* of the Established clergy.'

‡ This imports a taxation of about 17*s* per head, and that for purely municipal purposes.

§ In 1864 the military expenditure in the Island was:—

By Great Britain	164,118*l.*	10*s.*	7*d.*
By the Colony	3,930*l*	0*s.*	9*d.*

Thus the proportion of			
Educational to Ecclesiastical expenditure was as	1	to	13·2
Educational to total Island expenditure .	1	to	178·5
Ecclesiastical to total Island expenditure	1	to	13·4

In addition to the sum of £28,840 12*s.* 8*d.* so granted for Ecclesiastical purposes out of the Island Treasury, certain additional grants are made out of the Imperial Treasury, namely—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
for the Bishop of Jamaica (resident in Europe), per annum	1,400	0	0
for the Coadjutor Bishop of Kingston .	1,600	0	0
for the three Archdeacons . . .	1,800	0	0
Total per annum . .	4,800	0	0

There are also certain Stipendiary Curates, whose salaries, amounting in the aggregate to per annum . . . . . 4,100 0 0 are also paid in part out of the Imperial Treasury.

II.

Of the sum of £2,173 15*s.* 2*d.* granted, as above, for Educational purposes, there was distributed

to Church of England Schools . .	1,495	15	2
to Nonconformist Schools . . .	678	0	0

There are also in the Island certain Endowed Schools, of which the income amounted, in 1864, in the aggregate, to per annum . . 5,143 13 8

[The aggregate income, as stated by the Governor in 1865, of the Endowed Schools, amounted to £5,466 7*s.* 10*d.* See 'Papers Relative to the Affairs of Jamaica, 1866,' p. 269.]

The most important of these—namely, Wolmer's Free School, with an income from endowment of £1,200 per annum, and the Mico Institution, with an income from endowment of upwards of £1,300 per annum—are both situated in Kingston.

III.

The total population of Jamaica, according to the Census of 1861, consisted of 441,255 persons, of whom there were . .	White 13,816	Brown 81,065	Black 346,374
The total number of persons (in 1864) generally attending the services of the various Churches of all Denominations was . .			128,333
Of these, there belonged to—			
the Church of England			36,300
the Wesleyans.			37,570
the Baptists			26,483
other Nonconformist Churches . .			27,980
Thus there were attendant—			
on the Established Church . . .			36,300
on the Nonconformist Churches . .			92,033
The proportion of Churchmen to the total number of persons attending Religious Services being			1 in 3·5
The proportion of Nonconformists being .			1 in 1·3

As regards Education, in 1864,

	Schools		Scholars
the Established Church had	122	and	6,960
the Nonconformist Churches had	353	and	23,554
Total . .	475		30,514

But, apparently, the above Returns include Sunday Schools and Sunday Scholars.

IV.

According to the Census of 1861,

the total number of Children attending School* (including, apparently, Sunday Schools) was				33,521
the proportion of the entire population attending School, was . .	1	in	13·1	
ditto that could read, was . . .	1	in	5·4	
ditto that could read and write, was	1	in	8·7	
ditto that could neither read nor write, was	1	in	1·4	

* The benefits of education in a West India Colony are illustrated by the case of Antigua. Mr. Sewell, speaking of that island, says, "The efforts to educate the masses have been more persevering and better directed in this than in other islands. The Board of Education is composed of both laymen and clergymen, and a dignitary of the Established Church acts in concord and in concert with a Moravian bishop. At the time of emancipation the number of scholars attending Sunday and other schools was 1,886. In 1858 there were 52 day schools and 4,467 scholars. There were also 37 Sunday schools and 6,418 scholars. The population of Antigua, between the ages of 5 and 15, is estimated at 8,000, and it therefore appears, from the figures just given, that a large proportion of the rising generation attend the various schools of the island." . . . . In

V.

The Parishes in which Education was, in 1861, most neglected, were, according to the Census, St. Thomas-in-the-East, Kingston, and St. David, the parish contiguous on the West to St. Thomas-in-the-East.*

In these Parishes the proportions of the Children attending School to the respective populations were

in St. Thomas-in-the-East . . .	1	in	17·7
in Kingston	1	in	17·43
in St. David	1	in	25·

In St. Thomas-in-the-East, of which the entire population in 1861 amounted to 26,229 persons,

the proportion of the population that could

	read, was	1	in	5·5
ditto	read and write, was . .	1	in	10·4
ditto	neither read nor write, was .	1	in	1·3

The only Nonconformist Day Schools in St. Thomas-in-the-East, in 1864, were those of the Baptist Union, and the

1858 there were only 299 paupers in the island, with no ostensible means of earning a livelihood. It further appears *that education has raised the standard of morality* in Antigua. Marriages are much more frequent than they used to be, and concubinage is discountenanced. 'The number of illegitimate births averages 53 per cent. In some other islands it exceeds 100 per cent.'—*Free Labour in the West Indies*, p. 147.

* The County of Surrey in other respects presents a backward appearance, relatively to the other two counties. Thus, as regards population, comparing the Census of 1861 with that of 1844, the increase per cent. in the population

of Middlesex was . . . . 28·02
of Cornwall . . . . . 19·02
while in Surrey it was only 2·38 .

Wesleyan Methodists, of which the scholars on the books numbered respectively 28 and 486.

The Nonconformist schools, as a rule, are supported on the voluntary principle.

The Schools in St. Thomas-in-the-East in connexion with the Church of England (including, apparently, Sunday Schools), in 1864, numbered 902 scholars on the books, and were supported by contributions amounting to £231 12*s.*, of which sum £111 12*s.* was contributed by the Government, and the remaining £120 by voluntary effort.

The only Nonconformist Churches in St. Thomas-in-the-East are those of the Baptist Union and the Wesleyan Methodists.

	Ministers		Congregations
The Baptists* have . . .	1	and	3
The Wesleyans have . . .	3	and	10

N.B.—The above figures, with the exception of those relating to the Census of 1861, are derived from the official Returns contained in the 'Jamaica Blue-Book, 1864.'

* *Report of the Jamaica Royal Commission*, p. 782.

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